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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the communicative situation of 17 Mexican immigrant women in San Diego County (California), focusing on a set of narratives of personal language experiences in everyday life. Data collection included intensive fieldwork in an adult computer literacy project serving predominantly Mexican immigrants and interviews with seven project coordinators, seven participants, and four nonparticipants. Subjects' English language proficiency ranged from none to full bilingualism. To exemplify how events involving communicative challenges took place, the women reported on dialogues that occurred in different situations. By quoting others' words, the women were not only reporting speech, but also assessing the problematic nature of the incident. Analyses of these dialogues include setting, unexpected event, psychological response, attempt to resolve the challenge, and consequences. Examples presented in detail involve the women's interactions with doctors, other medical staff, school personnel, their own child in a school situation, and a priest. In monolingual U.S. institutions, the women experienced "invisibility" (exclusion) responses from the people they interacted with. The examples show that the invisibility responses occurred when the women did not have enough English to defend themselves, when language judgments were mapped onto Mexican ethnicity, and when Spanish was underprivileged in institutions. (Contains 84 references.) (SV)

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Mexican Immigrant Women's Narratives of Language Experience: Defendiéndose in Southern California

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Mexican Immigrant Women's Narratives of Language Experience: Defediéndose in Southern California

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper is about the current communicative situation of a group of 17 Mexican immigrant women in San Diego County. It focuses on a set of narratives of personal language experiences in everyday life. The point of departure was to find out about how English infiltrates Mexican women's experiences of immigration in Southern California. Narratives or stories are understood in this presentation as any stretch of discourse centered around a past event, which contains an evaluative point (Labov, 1972). In addition, together with the idea of what a narrative is comes the idea of narrative or storytelling as a sense-making social activity. That is, people tell narratives or stories to reconstruct what a past experience means to them at the present moment (Ochs, 2000). When narrators bring past events to the present moment they portray themselves and the events they tell in particular ways attributing different kinds of agency to the characters reported. Agency is understood in this paper as the degree of discursive intervention narrators attribute to themselves and others in the story-worlds they reconstruct at the present moment.

Experiences of language are mediated through the social worlds Mexican immigrant women deal with in everyday life. That is, who they talk to, where they find English more necessary, how they approach communication in a second language, what degrees of English proficiency they have, what constraints they face when they learn English, and all in all what kinds of communicative challenges they face in everyday life. The main communicative challenge that

Mexican immigrant women face is the lack of English proficiency to manage successfully in social encounters. I would argue that although having the adequate level of English proficiency can be considered a weapon to be able to defend oneself in communicative encounters taking place in different social settings, Mexican immigrant women cannot escape the language judgments that they and others associate to their Mexican ethnicity. The equation speaking Spanish and being Mexican/being Latino/being Hispanic[1] in the Southwest constructs Mexican immigrant women's narratives of communicative challenges. Data from a set of in-depth interviews with 17 Mexican women about experiences of language at different social settings demonstrate first that conflicts arise when the expected connection between speaking Spanish and being Mexican make Mexican women invisible for the characters reported in their stories. Second, that even in situations in which Mexican immigrant women have the language to defend themselves, they cannot escape invisibility responses that other have towards their Mexican ethnicity. Finally, invisibility reactions are also associated to the public use of Spanish and its lack of recognition in social domains.

In order to analyze how Mexican immigrant women respond to these communicative challenges, I focus on a common recursive linguistic mechanism in narratives of language experience, which is the use of reported dialogues[2]. By reported dialogues I mean the speaker's quote of others' words. That is, in order to exemplify how communicative challenges events took place, Mexican immigrant women reported on the dialogues that took place between them and the people they interacted with in different social situations. By quoting other's words these

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[1] I agree with Torres' (1997) indication about the problem of classifying people of Spanish-speaking origin under one umbrella term, be it as she points out, "Latino, Hispanic, or anything else, given different nationalities, as well as race differences and class issues". I also agree with Torres on the "situational ethnic identifiers" of "Latino" or "Hispanic" when in need of an unifying term.

[2] Although I choose the term reported dialogue in this paper, I agree with Tannen's definition of "constructed dialogues" (1989) since speakers are never producing the exact words. What they do is to reconstruct at the present moment a version of a past event, a "replay" of the situation in Goffman's terms (1981).

women were not only reporting speech but they were also assessing the problematic nature of the incident. As Buttny &Williams (2000: 113) points out "recreating others' actions through quoting their words is a way of criticizing or resisting troublesome events." Mexican immigrant women do not portray themselves as victims in the events. On the contrary, they display an agentive self that intervenes in situations in which their language and ethnicity are at risk. Mexican immigrant women position themselves as "doing" something about difficulties they come across in communicative encounters. All in all, self-representation in reported dialogues is also indicative of the linguistic and socio-cultural reality Mexican immigrant women live with in the U.S. Southwest. A reality that is characterized by a desire to keep the Spanish language alive despite sociopolitical forces, such as the English only movement or the anti-bilingual initiative proposition 227, which endanger the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in the U.S.

In the first part of this paper, I would like to address some of the reasons why I focus on Mexican immigrant women's narratives of language experience. In the second part I will focus on the process of data collection and methodology used for the analysis. Finally, in the third part I include a discussion of selected data samples. Overall, the study of Mexican immigrant women's personal stories on the experiences of language in the border area of San Diego intends to be a contribution to immigration studies and discourse analytic studies of immigrants in the U.S.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research on language and migration has looked at the language ability of U.S immigrants (Carliner, 2000); language skills of legalized migrants (Chiswik & Miller, 1998); the language adaptation of second-generation children (Portes & Schauffer, 1997); and the status of Spanish language in the U.S as related to the linguistic integration of Hispanic immigrants (Veltman,

1996). As far as the linguistic situation of Mexican migrants is concerned, immigration scholars have focused on issues such as the relationship between English proficiency and economic mobility within the United States (Espinosa & Massey, 1997) and more specifically on the impact of English skills on labor market outcomes along the U.S-Mexico border (Dávila & Mora, 2000). The common ground is the quantitative relationship between degree of English proficiency and the set of variables usually available in census and survey data. Individual, household, and community level are typical variables in these studies. (Espinosa & Massey, 1997) includes other additional variables such as the migrant's background, which includes short trips taken to Mexico, age at the time of the first trip, gender, overall amount of time in the U.S, and time since documented status was achieved. The relationship between gender and migration has been insightfully analyzed by Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) reaching the conclusion that gender "organizes" migration as much as it is influenced by the demands of migration. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) has shown effectively the responsibility of undocumented Mexican women in the immigration and settlement process in the U.S. However complete the latter study has been in addressing undocumented female Mexican immigrants' everyday activities and its settlement consequences, the role of language in the settlement process has not been addressed in detail. From studies such as Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994), one can conclude that women share a greater degree of communicative challenges than men since they are the ones who play a prominent role in everyday social transactions such as shopping, schools, employment, use of public and private financial support and the development of community activities. All in all, a study of how U.S immigrants in general and Mexican migrants in particular grasp and live with the notion of English proficiency has not been approached yet.

My approach to the study of Mexican immigrant women's language experiences follows discourse analytic[3] studies on immigration. In particular, it follows research done on U.S immigrant's discourse and identity from the perspective of narrative analysis. De Fina (1999) has extensively analyzed undocumented Mexican immigrants' discourse in Washington D.C. She focused on how undocumented immigrants constructed their identity and positioned themselves discursively towards the immigration experience. Similar work by Parker (1998) on Chinese illegal immigrants' portrayal of the self in life stories has also contributed to a better understanding of immigrants' lives in the U.S. Both studies agree on the contribution of linguistics to the field of immigration studies. Like Parker (1998) and de Fina (1999), this study also attempts to contribute to the field of immigration studies by focusing on Mexican immigrant women' language experiences.

Narrative or storytelling is understood as a sense-making social activity in this analysis, as "a spontaneous reconstruction of experience" as de Fina (1999: 18) points out. Generally, when we think of narratives or stories, we think of them in terms of past events that contain a setting, a complication action and a resolution (Ochs, 1998). Sociolinguistic definitions of narratives (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:20) consider narratives as a sequence of two or more clauses, which are temporally ordered.[4] Anthropological and discourse analysis perspectives (Goodwin, C., 1984; Goodwin, M. H., 1990; Riessman, 1993; Linde, 1993; Ochs 1992, 1996; 2000; Imbens-Bailey, 1997; Schiffrin, 1996, 1997), approach narratives as part of people's everyday life, as

[3] For a good discussion of the scope of Discourse Analysis within Linguistics studies see Schiffrin, D. (1994): Approaches to Discourse. Blackwell.

[4] The overall structure of a narrative consists of the following elements (Labov, 1972): *abstract* or one or two clauses summarizing the whole story; *orientation* or set of clauses which identify the time, place, persons, or situation; *complicating action* or narratives clauses comprising the sequence of events; *evaluation* or clauses giving the point of the story; *resolution* or the part following the evaluation; and *coda* or the ending that brings the listener back to the present. Labov distinguished two main functions in the narrative, the referential and the evaluative function. The referential function referred to the ability to match temporal sequences and the evaluative function consists of that part of the narrative, which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative.

accounts of personal experiences, which can be embedded in ordinary conversation (Goodwin, 1984; Riessman, 1993; Ochs, 1996; 2000). The latter focuses more on the dimensional aspects of the narrative (Ochs, 2000) [5] than on structural, temporal analyses. Ochs (1998) distinguishes prototypical narratives, those with a clear delimitation of a setting, complicating action and a resolution from other kinds of narratives that do not contain all these elements and are part of social life. The latter can take the form of plans, agendas, news, scientific presentations and even prayers.

Following Ochs (2000), I consider narratives as emerging conversationally in interviews and therefore not clearly following in some cases structural and temporal patterns. For its analysis, I will follow Ochs's dimensional approach and the following narrative components: setting, unexpected event, psychological response, attempt and consequences. According to Ochs (2000: 251), *setting* refers to the "time, location, physical, psychological, and socio-historic conditions and other relevant background information; the *unexpected event* is "the unanticipated problematic incident"; *psychological response* "refers to changes in person's thoughts and emotions originated by the unexpected event; *attempt* will mean the behavior initiated to resolve a problematic unexpected event; and *consequences* will be the repercussion of psychological responses or the attempt. This analysis allowed me to delve into the linguistic mechanisms in the stories identifying the conflict sources and the linguistic responses towards the events portrayed. For example, problematic incidents in most of the narratives of language experiences consisted of past dialogues accounts. By analyzing Mexican immigrant women's portrayal of the

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[5] Ochs (2000) approaches narrative analysis from the perspective of a set of "narrative dimensions," which "establishes a *range* of possibilities," having to do with: the number of interlocutors telling the narrative; how tellable the account is; how grounded it is in the surrounded discourse; whether it follows or not a temporal and causal organization; and how much of a moral stance the narrative reflects (pp. 32).

communication events, we can a better understanding of how they presented and positioned themselves linguistically towards the communicative challenges of their immigration experience.

Thus, narrative talk is understood as a linguistic tool that brings to the present moment what experiences of past communication events mean to Mexican immigrant women. The presentation of the problematic incidents in the form of reported dialogues is indicative of how Mexican women assess the incident reported. Discourse analysts insists on evaluation as being one of the main functions of reported speech since the subject quoting other's words is recreating the event portrayed at the present moment valorizing or criticizing the action depicted. Mexican immigrant women positioned themselves with respect to the event and the characters presented in the stories within the reported event. The micro-analysis of reported dialogues in the stories is indicative of Mexican women's ideological position towards communicative challenges in San Diego.

3 DATA COLLECTION

The data presented in this paper is part of an ongoing process of data collection. It includes a set of interviews for a period of eight months including initial contacts with members of the Mexican immigrant community in the cities of Solana Beach in North San Diego County and Imperial Beach and San Ysidro in the South Bay area of San Diego; intensive fieldwork in an after-school computer literacy program for adults in a predominantly Mexican immigrant community in north San Diego County and videotape data of the program from which I recruited my subjects.

3.1 THE PROGRAM: La Clase Mágica

La Clase Mágica or LCM is a bilingual/bicultural after-school computer program to satisfy the linguistic and cultural needs of the Mexican/Latino community in San Diego. It was founded in 1989 by Professor Olga Vásquez and her team at the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition at UCSD The main goal was to provide the Mexican/Latino community with educational resources and institutional support through a computer-based curriculum designed culturally and developmentally for four age groups: Mi Clase Mágica (MCM) for children ages 3-5, La Clase Mágica (LCM) for children 5-12 years of age, the Wizard Assistants Club for teens, and La Gran Dimensión (LGD) for adults. At the present moment, LCM is running in the locations of Solana Beach, San Ysidro and Imperial Beach in San Diego County. The program is planning to extend to other locations in North San Diego County and accommodate the linguistic and cultural needs of the Native American community.

LCM started in Solana Beach because of the significant percentage of the working-class Spanish-speaking population and the isolation of the community with respect to the wealthy white American community. According to 1990's Census, 15% of the Solana Beach population is from Hispanic origin and the ratio of Hispanics to whites in Eden Garden is of 85% to 15% (Vásquez, 2001). Research on inter-racial contact between Eden Gardens, which is described according to Vásquez, as a community "encapsulated in the middle of a one-square area surrounded by increasingly higher priced homes", and the white middle/upper-class community hardly exists. In terms of the degree of English proficiency of the adult Spanish-speaking population in Solana Beach, the 1990's census indicates that 43% speak English "very well", a 15% speak it "well" whereas a 42% speak English "not well or not at all." Data from my study reveals that the amount of adults who did not speak English well was higher. About 70% of the

informants interviewed in Solana did not speak English well but as they usually manifested they tried to defend themselves with the English they knew.

UCSD undergraduate students, under the direction of the project director or collaborating colleagues assist the coordinators in providing individualized instruction to participating children and adults. Compared to many other computer-based centers today, LCM runs under the direction of a working class Mexicano community. The curriculum is bilingual and designed and reshaped continuously to meet the daily linguistic and cultural realities of the community. A group of seven women from Mexican origin is currently working as site coordinators in the locations of Solana Beach, Imperial Beach and San Ysidro, where LCM is operating.

3.2 BACKGROUND OF THE PARTICIPANTS

The group of Mexican female immigrants selected for this project includes the seven female site coordinators of La Clase Mágica project, which is currently running in the locations of San Ysidro, Imperial Beach and Solana Beach in San Diego County, a group of seven parents and participants in the program and a group of four other non-participants, who were accessed through the snow-ball sampling but whose language experiences were of a great value for this study. All the participants shared a history of immigration and they had been in the U.S for a range of a month to more than 30 years in one of the cases. They were from the Mexican states of Jalisco, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Mexico City Metropolitan area, Morelos, Durango and Baja California. They all had received either primary or secondary education and worked in domestic services, as part of the administrative staff in community services, as site coordinators of the LCM's program, in restaurants, and janitorial services. In terms of the reasons for coming to the U.S, these participants adjust to economic and social networks reasons that Cornelius (1992) identifies as the main factors that explain Mexican settlement in California. Moreover, they also

shared some of the most recent evidence that Cornelius & Marcelli (2001) agree on as an explanation of continuous Mexican labor supply in California. All the participants in this project had the intention to remain in the U.S regardless of the legal status process they found themselves in (two of them were undocumented, nine had gone through the legalization provisions provided by the 1986 Immigration and Control Act-IRCA- and six of them did not mention it). They came from urban areas in Mexico in 90% of the cases, and an 80% had achieved secondary education.

The degree of English proficiency correlated in most of the cases to the period of stay in the United States, ranging from none to full bilingualism and ability to code-switch in English and Spanish. In terms of second language acquisition patterns as research shows (Krashen, 1982), factors such as conditions of exposure to the second language, age, learner's language background, and affective factors (motivation, self-confidence and anxiety) involved in second language learning would make possible different degrees of language acquisition. [6]

Participants in this study were at different stages of the acquisition continuum. Three of them grew up bilingual after coming to the U.S at a very young age. One had received some language instruction in Mexico and had just arrived in the U.S. The rest had received some language instruction at some point of their stay in the U.S and had different degrees and personal assessment of their English proficiency. Participants' assessment of English proficiency

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[6] The main leading figure in studies of second language acquisition (S. Krashen, 1988) establishes the following five main hypotheses: the Acquisition-Learning hypothesis, the Monitor hypothesis, the Natural Order hypothesis, the Input hypothesis, and the Affective Filter hypothesis. Among Krashen's hypotheses the *acquisition-learning* distinction is the most fundamental and widely known among linguists and language practitioners. On the one hand, *acquisition* is the product of a subconscious process very similar to the process children undergo when they acquire their first language. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language - natural communication - in which speakers are concentrated not in the form of their utterances, but in the communicative act. On the other hand, *learning* is the product of formal instruction and it comprises a conscious process, which results in conscious knowledge *about* the language, for example knowledge of grammar rules. According to Krashen *learning* is less important than *acquisition*, since what it matters is the learner's ability to communicate naturally in different social settings. For an update visit http://www.sk.com/

originated stories, which aimed to exemplify difficulties with the learning process, ranging from mere anecdotes to more dramatic cases in which women risked their health or were discriminated against at the workplace. In addition, Mexican immigrant women gave accounts of situations in which lack of English proficiency had impeded communication in different social settings.

3.3 METHODOLOGY

Narratives were collected in sociolinguistic interviews. The elicitation of narratives of personal experiences through the sociolinguistic interview is a common method of data collection in discourse analytic studies. The format of the interview consisted of a section on the socioeconomic background of the subjects and three main sections regarding experiences of language at home, at work, and in social life[7]. The format followed was the unstructured interview with the intention of transforming it into a conversational exchange on experiences of communication among Mexican immigrant women. All the interviews were elicited in the language chosen by the subjects. Most of them took place in Spanish, one in English and three in both languages since for some of the participants code-switching was a common linguistic practice. The interviews lasted from thirty to two hour long in one of the cases. They were all audiotaped and transcribed adapting conversation analysis transcribing conventions (Sacks, Jefferson, & Schegloff, 1974)[8] Mexican immigrant women had the opportunity of narrating these experiences within the interview framework. Therefore, the interview became a locus of ideological exchange in which they shared views and perspectives on issues having to do with language rights, language tolerance, respect, prejudice and discrimination.

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[7] See Appendix 2 for model of interview.

4 FINDINGS

The main challenging communicative encounters took place in health, religious, and educational settings as well as at the workplace and shops. I identified a total of 60 narratives for this study. Stories emerged as answers to experiences related with feelings of frustration, anger and anxiety in some cases for not being able to express themselves at problematic social settings such as health environments (doctor's offices and hospitals); schools; religious, business and workplace settings. One of the main findings is that communicative challenges are oriented towards issues of language and ethnicity. Being a Mexican immigrant woman in San Diego with different degrees of English proficiency, does not escape language judgments narrators are subjected to neither those they portray the protagonists of their stories with. The latter includes cases in which Mexican women associated Mexican/Latino identity to the use of Spanish without considering the complexity of Latinos, Mexicans, and Mexican-Americans' linguistic repertoire in the San Diego area (from monolingual English to Chicano varieties).

The majority of these stories were told as reported dialogues in which women presented how the situation took place and what strategies they used to solve the situation. The accounts involved inter and intra-ethnic encounters with members and non-members of the Latino community. Language and the values and beliefs associated to a particular language use and ethnicity triggered the most interesting stories in this study. I would like to center the discussion around the role of language and ethnicity in narratives of communicative challenges. In the following section, I discuss some of the most relevant examples.

5 DISCUSSION

[8] See Appendix 1 for transcription conventions

When I asked Mexican immigrant women how they were doing with English in everyday life, they all agreed how necessary it was to know and have the opportunity to practice English. When they recalled their learning experiences, they usually expressed their frustration, pressure, disappointment, and defenselessness in the first communicative encounters as immigrants in the U.S. From anecdotes in shops, at the workplace or in daily interactions with family members with a higher degree of English proficiency to more dramatic experiences in which the cost of not having the language risked their lives, the answer to the question on how to get by with English in the U.S prompted responses having to do with the difficulty of the situation and how necessary English was to defend oneself in everyday life. Having the language becomes a weapon to fight against humiliation and discrimination. As Elsa, who came to the U.S in the 50s at the age of 16 and who feels empowered now by having the two languages, puts it:

E: ya cuando tuve el idioma me sentí más fuerte y ya podía decir como me sentía. Empecé a sentirme mejor porque tenía el idioma pero antes tenía mucho coraje porque sentía que me humillaban mucho, me discriminaban mucho, me ignoraban mucho pero yo sola salí pa' alante para que no me pasara eso y yo le diría a mi gente "¿sabes qué? Si no quieres sentirte así tienes que luchar para entender el idioma para entenderte donde quieras que vayas porque si no quieres que traten así tienes que hacer algo por tí misma, verdad.

"When I had the language I felt stronger and I was able to say how I felt. I started to feel better because I had the language but before that I was very angry because I felt that I was humiliated a lot, that I was discriminated against, I was ignored a lot but I moved forward by myself so that it didn't happen to me and I would say to my people "you know what? If you don't want to feel like that you have to fight to understand the language, to be able to understand yourself wherever you go because if you don't want to be treated like that you have to do something for yourself right."

Although having English was considered an indispensable tool to be able to defend oneself and carry out daily social transactions in health, religious, educational and business environments, Mexican immigrant women could not escape the language judgments associated to their Mexican ethnicity. When the equation speaking Spanish and being Mexican come to play a role in social encounters taking place in monolingual US social institutions, Mexican immigrant women experience invisibility responses from the people they interacted with. By

invisibility responses I mean experiences of exclusion, which are associated to prejudices and negative attitudes about Mexicans. As the examples below show, invisibility responses occur: 1. when one does not have the English language to defend oneself; 2. when language judgments are mapped onto Mexican ethnicity; 3. when Spanish is underprivileged in social institutions.

5.1. No English, no defense

One of the biggest challenges for immigrant women is access to health resources. Experiences at the doctors' or in hospitals were related to frustration for not having the language to communicate, unsuccessful translation experiences and unfair situations in which they felt ignored and discriminated against for not having the language. However, the response to the situation portrays women as active agents of the situation reported, usually as helpers and facilitators of the situation reported. In the following example, Marina reports on the incident that took place at hospital with someone from her same community who did not speak English. She uses narrative to exemplify her position regarding knowing the language and getting a better treatment in hospital. According to her "lo ignoran más si uno no sabe" (they ignore you more if you don't know). Marina has been living in the U.S for 15 years. She came to the U.S after graduation from high school. She came to visit ("*a conocer*"// "to know") with the intention of staying for one year, earning some money to help her parents in Mexico and returning to complete her studies. She then realized she could make more money and stayed illegally until she could legalize her situation later. She spoke no English when she arrived and recalled how her husband used to encourage her to speak in shops so that she could learn English. Now she agrees that she has lost fear to speak and communicate and is eager to use English in any situation. Marina tells the story about what happened to someone from her community who did

not speak English in hospital and did not get the attention from the nurses. She reports on how she got angry about the situation and decided to intervene and confront the nurse:

1 o sea A MI ME DIO CORAJE!!!
I mean I GOT MAD!!
2 Okey esta bien que estemos mal vestidos o que no tengamos (.4) pero son personas y se va a pagar,
Okey it's okey that we are badly dressed or that we don't have (.4) but they are persons and it's gonna be paid
3 de alguna forma van a pagar verdad y se sabe
somehow they are gonna pay right and we know it
4 y voy y me dirijo con alguna de las enfermeras
and I go and talk to one of the nurses
5 y le digo "esta persona no tiene cuidados" **((raising her finger at me))**
6 **and I tell her "this person has no care" ((raising her finger at me))**
7 y le digo "NO TIENE" le digo
and I tell her "SHE DOES NOT" I tell her

In this example, language and ethnicity is mapped onto class. As Marina's critical assessment of the situation indicates, Mexican people who are poorly dressed and who do not speak English are the subject of abuse and discrimination in the U.S. In lines 2-3, she speaks for the collective Mexican immigrant illegal community who are ostracized in daily institutional transactions in the U.S. However, she reacts to the event by intervening actively and reporting on the dialogue she had with the nurse in lines 5-6. She portrays herself as having more authority than the nurse in the dialogue. She only reports on what she said to the nurse but we never hear the nurse's voice. The repetition of "y le digo" "y le digo" (and I tell her and I tell her) and the raise of voice in line 7 (NO TIENE!! // SHE DOES NOT HAVE!!)) present Marina as a direct witness of a social reality in which knowing English is indicative of a better treatment in society. She later evaluates the incident (see appendix 3 for complete story) as follows:

8 y entonces en ese momento ví como pues solamente hablar y decir algo en inglés vienen y ayudan y que si hablas en español, no te ayudan
and then at that moment I saw how only if you speak and say something in English they come and help and that if they speak Spanish, they don't get any help

That is, in this example "knowing English equates getting help" whereas "speaking Spanish equals getting no help". Invisibility in this case is the result of not having the language to defend oneself. Marina uses her knowledge of English to confront the situation and make herself visible to the nurse.

Invisibility responses in social institutions are also the result of the language judgments mapped onto Mexican ethnicity.

5.2 Language judgments

The following example portrays a situation in which Mexican women are excluded from important information in medical settings due to medical personnel's assumptions about being Mexican and not being able to understand English.

Miriam is in her 50s and has been in the U.S. for fifteen years. She lives in a border town on the U.S side and agrees that where she lives she does not need a lot of English although it is necessary to speak it well. In her opinion, English is necessary to get by and defend oneself in difficult situations in which someone is not translating exactly what one says. She speaks for the collective Mexican self in her answer to this question:

> M: siento que nos hace falta poder defendernos más, para poder hacer nuestras propias cosas sin tener que pedirle a alguien que lo haga por uno porque si no siempre dicen lo que uno no quiere. Siempre dicen otras cosas.
>
> **I feel we need it to be able to defend ourselves more, to be able to do our things without having to ask someone to do it for us because otherwise they always say what one does not want to say. They always say other things.**

Translating experiences were also difficult in many different social settings, being hospitals and schools the ones Mexican women referred to. In the following example, Miriam felt very offended when the doctor (*una americana*/ a female American) never explained to her the result of her husband's surgery. Miriam portrays the doctor as assuming that she did not speak English

because she is Mexican. Reported dialogue is used here to animate the sequence in which she complained to the receptionist about the doctor's negligent behavior towards her (see appendix 3 for the whole story):

1 Entonces yo voy y le digo a la recepcionista "qué pasa?"
Then I go and tell the receptionist "what's going on?"
2 "la doctora no salió a hablar contigo?"
"the doctor did not come out to talk to you."
3 digo "no"'
I say 'no"
4 "OH!! Eso es que a lo mejor pensó que no le entendías"
"OH! That's because she maybe thought you didn't understand her
(1.) ((looking at the interviewer))
5 Mi: así me dijó
Mi: like that she told me
6 entonces volteé
then I turned around
7 y le dije "a ella no le importa si yo entendí=ella tiene que acabar un trabajo para agarrar otro" le digo
and I told her "it doesn't matter to her whether I understood=she has to finish a job to be able to do another" I told her
8 yo ya he hablado con ella muchas veces
I had already talked to her in several occasions
9 y ella sabe que yo le puedo hablar
and she knows that I can speak to her
10 y le entiendo"
and I understand her"

Despite monolingual ideological forces, Miriam confronts the receptionist in line 7, explaining how this is not the first time it had happened to her and indeed the doctor can communicate with her. Miriam presents herself as 'doing' something about an unfair situation. As she reports later in the conversation, she felt angry when she found herself without the English proficiency she needed to confront the situation:

11 Mi: y en ese momento me dio coraje!
And at that moment I got angry!
12 porque no podía ir a pelear con ella
because I couldn't go and fight with her
13 porque podía decir lo básico pero no todo para para quitarme el coraje
because I could say the basic but not everything to be able to release my anger

Feeling ignored, unimportant or discriminated against occurred also in instances in which despite having the language to defend oneself, Mexican women could not escape other's

linguistic judgments mapped onto their ethnicity. This is the case of Elsa, who came from Tijuana when she was 16, has been living in the U.S for more than 30 years, learnt English as she said, "to be able to defend herself" and reported on how she had recently felt excluded in a public setting. She tells the story about the time she was in an ice-cream shop and the cashier just went over her and addressed the next person in line:

1 E: I was standing up in line in an ice-cream shop
2 and there was a long line
3 and there were mixed races
4 and what was so funny was that she knew I was there
5 and she went over and said "can I help you?"
6 M: uhmm
7 E: because she didn't know I spoke English
8 and I told her "you know what (.3) may I speak to the manager?"
9 she was "Oh:! I am sorry can I help you?"
10 I said "NO:: I need to speak to the manager"
11 and right there she said "I didn't mean to"
12 "no it's ok (.) it's ok (.) it's ok (.) I just need to speak to the manager"
13 and I took the manager at the [hard] front you know
14 and she kind of wanna
15 she denied it (.3)
16 and she went around
17 and said you know (.) the next person
18 so it was things like that

In this example, the reported dialogue in lines 8-12 gives Elsa the opportunity to present herself as confronting the cashier and denouncing the unfairness of the situation. In her opinion only when one learns to speak the language, one can defend herself:

"I guess as you learn and you learn to speak the language, there are more opportunities to be able to go around so that you can defend yourself and I mean this happens to all races I am sure you know it's not only my race but still up to this date they don't want you to speak Spanish still they don't want you to speak your language and there is a lot of racism and they don't want because they say they don't understand and well I say "Look there are other languages, Philipino, Chinese, Irak [illegible]tever they speak their language , so what? Only Mexicans are not allowed to speak their language? (.) That's crazy!!"

Experiences of having English or not having English to defend oneself are closely associated with narratives of respect and value for one's language. Elsa's statement "only Mexicans are not allowed to speak their language. That's crazy!!," reflects the racialization of

the Spanish language in the American Southwest. Racialization refers to intense reactions associated to public recognition of languages other than English. In the case of Spanish, it is the result of what Zentella (1997: 74) calls "Hispanophobia" to refer to the threat that 35 millions of Spanish speakers in the US (according to 2000 census data), suppose for the English-only movement. In the sociopolitical context of the American Southwest, the same phenomenon, "Mexicanophobia" applies to the contextual situation in which speaking Spanish in public and having a "Mexican look" causes "a vision of disorder" (Urcicuoli, 1996).

5. 3. When Spanish does not count

Invisibility responses were also associated to the value and recognition of Spanish in social domains. The problem of language was particularly accentuated in schools by the lack of English proficiency to communicate with teachers together with the pressure children are subjected to when they speak Spanish. For parents, the most frustrating experience reported was not having the language to participate actively in school's meetings and educational activities. Mexican women wanted to be clear on important educational issues that involved their children's future academic education.

In the following example, Ana reports on the time in which she left her son alone in a public event at school after her son had asked her not to speak Spanish with him in public. Ana has been in the US for 23 years. She came at the age of 17 and could not get an education because of her father's opposing views to the role of women in society. She got married to escape her father's authority but found a man "worst than her father" in her own words. She only took English classes while she was preparing for the citizenship exam. At the present moment she always tries

to make herself understood with the English she knows but whenever she can she uses her Spanish. In the following excerpt she quotes the dialogue with her son:

1	A: yo he notado cuando iba a las fiestas o de voluntaria (.) **I've noticed when I used to go the parties or as a volunteer (.)**
2	yo siempre español **I always [spoke] Spanish**
3	a mí no me importa que las americanas me queden viendo así como diciendo qué hace esta aquí? Verdad? **I don't care when the Americans look at me like saying "what is this [woman] doing here?" right?**
4	A mí no me importa **I don't care**
5	yo le hablo español a mi hijo **I speak Spanish to my son**
6	y entonces él un día me dijo "mami no hables aquí español porque no me gusta" **and then one day he told me "mum don't speak Spanish in here because I don't like it"**
7	entonces yo le dije "SABES QUÉ! YA ME VOY!" **then I told him "YOU KNOW WHAT! I AM LEAVING!"**
8	"POR QUÉ? NO TE VAYAS!" **"WHY? DON'T LEAVE!"**
9	le digo "porque tu nunca tienes que sentir vergüenza por tu idioma porque ES TU IDIOMA" **and I tell him "because you should never feel ashamed of your language because IT'S YOUR LANGUAGE**
10	y naciste aquí porque ya tuvimos que venir aquí **and you were born here because we had to come in here**
11	pero es tu idioma así que no tienes que sentir vergüenza **but it's your language so you don't have to feel ashamed**
12	y se quedó triste **and he got sad**
13	y me fui **and I left**
14	y luego en la casa le dije "NUNCA TIENES QUE SENTIR VERGÜENZA PORQUE TÚ HABLAS ESPAÑOL" **and then at home I told him 'YOU NEVER HAVE TO FEEL ASHAMED BECAUSE YOU SPEAK SPANISH"**
15	le digo "al contrario, tú ESTÁ MEJOR QUE ELLOS porque sabes los dos idiomas" **and I tell him "on the contrary YOU ARE BETTER OFF THAN THEM because you know the two languages"**

This story exemplifies first the views that according to Ana, "the Americans" have on Mexican people. In line 3, she reports on the thoughts that in her opinion some American teachers may have on her. The use of the demonstrative pronoun "esta" (this one) in "what is this [woman] doing here?" depicts Ana's perception of the depreciating look she gets from teachers when she speaks Spanish. The dialogue with her son is a reflection of the language and cultural disparities between first and second- generation Mexican immigrants. Mexican children grow up

hiding the Spanish language as a marker of an identity that is currently suppressed in California schools in the post-227 era. The reported dialogue is a reflection of the struggle between language maintenance and language assimilation that second-generation Mexican children usually debate with until they get to college and start to appreciate more the Spanish language. This dialogue is also an example of the kinds of socialization practices Mexican immigrant women develop with their children on a daily basis. Most of the women in this study agreed on the importance on maintaining the Spanish language at home however difficult or anecdotal the communication was with their children. Finally, this example portrays Mexican women as actively defending the value of Spanish language and confronting undesirable linguistic situations in the language they know.

Lack of Spanish recognition triggered more emotionally charged narratives in religious settings. Invisibility responses within the religious domain occurred in situations in which Spanish was less privileged than English. Within the private domain of religion not being able to have a religious service in Spanish is seen as the result of lack of respect for one's religion. According to Hidalgo (2001), the use of Spanish in the domain of religion as well as the demand for religious services in Spanish has increased considerably in the last decade. She suggests that the demand for Catholic masses in Spanish is due to the increased number of the Mexican population in the area. In her opinion, religion adds a new dimension to the equation language and ethnicity. Those subjects who attend mass in Spanish also manifest a stronger Mexican identity (Hidalgo, 2001:19). Despite the growing number of Spanish masses, the problem occurs in bilingual celebrations where English is privileged. Lucía, who has been living in the U.S. for 18 years and defines her English proficiency as enough to defend herself, puts it in the following way:

"en la iglesia a veces es peor que en las escuelas porque a veces los sacerdotes quieren obligar a la gente a escuchar sus sermones o sus homilías o sus aparentes celebraciones bilingües, donde nomás dicen un canto en español o dicen un padre nuestro en español y todo lo demás es en inglés. A mí se me hace como una falta de respeto y discriminación y es casi decir "pues no eres tan importante para mí. No te voy a hablar en el idioma que tú puedes entender o lo que tú necesitas saber"

"sometimes church is even worse than schools because priests want to oblige people to listen to their sermons or homilies or their supposed bilingual celebrations, where they just tell a song in Spanish or one our-father in Spanish and the rest in English. For me it's a lack of respect and discrimination. It's like saying "you are not so important for me. I am not gonna speak to you in the language that you can understand or what you need to know."

This experience elicited the story about the time Lucía abandoned the Easter religious service after having realized it was being held in English. The following excerpt portrays Lucía actively responding to the situation with her actions:

1 L: Cuando miré que el párroco que el diácono el que habla español
When I saw that the priest the deacon who speaks Spanish
2 cuando iba a dar la lectura en español la dio en ingles
When he was going to do the reading in Spanish he did it in English
3 me sentí que era una CELEBRACIÓN RIDÍCULA
I felt it was a RIDICULOUS CELEBRATION
4 dije "AY::! Dios mio perdóname!
I said "AY::!! My Lord forgive me!!
5 pero aquí estoy tan enojada porque siento que no nos (…) si tú estuvieras aquí no nos harías esto porque somos tu pueblo, somos tu gente y eso no se hace"
but here I am so annoyed because I feel that we are not, we are not (…) if you were here you would not do that to us because we are your people and you don't do that
6 Eso no es hacernos parte de una comunidad
That's not to make us feel part of a community
7 y me salí TAN ENOJADA que les dije a mis hijos "VÁMONOS=VÁMONOS!!"
and I left SO ANGRY that I said to my children 'LET'S GO=LET'S GO!!"
8 "qué pasa!!"
"what's wrong!!"
9 "VÁMONOS!!"
"LET'S GO!!"
10 y ya cuando salimos les dije (.) me sentí que esa celebración no era para nosotros por eso la dieron en inglés, no era para el pueblo, para la gente para los hispanos. Me sentí que esa no es una celebración cristiana.
And when we were outside I told them (.) I felt that celebration was not for us=that's why it was in English (.) it wasn't for the people the community for the Hispanics. I felt it wasn't a Christian celebration

Lucía's reaction is to abandon the service being held in English. Invisibility is associated with feeling insulted, unimportant, excluded from a private sphere of language use, which an individual should have the right to practice in her/his native language. In her opinion, the exclusion in a community of people who are part of church is ridiculous and offensive for her.

She cannot reconcile two contradictory facts, the fact of being part of church as a Christian community and not being able to speak nor receive a service in her native language. The reported dialogue in line 7-10 presents Lucía as taking action towards an unfair situation. She positions herself as fighting the religious establishment in English. Her behavior and experience had repercussions in consecutive events with other members of her family.

A similar incident happened two days later to her child. She narrates how she could not go to the service and how her daughter had experienced the same kind of incident. Everybody except for her, including Lucía's mother who had just come to visit from Mexico, her brother and sister-in-law, all of them not proficiency in English, went together to the religious service held on Saturday (see appendix 3). The following dialogue portrayed Lucía's daughter as confronting the priest after having found out that the religious service was going to be held in English:

1	y dice 'yo me quede así con un coraje que ha ha ha fui a buscar al señor cura
	and she says "I was like with all this anger that ha ha ha I went to look for the priest
2	y le dije "por qué estás haciendo la misa solamente en inglés?
	And I told him "why are you having mass in English only?"
3	Los mejicanos, los hispanos, los que no hablan ingles, QUÉ?"
	What about Mexicans, Hispanics those who do not speak English, WHAT ABOUT THEM?
4	y dice que se le volteó
	and she said that he turned around and said
5	y le dijo "Oh: Si yo voy a Mexico a mi nadie me va a decir la misa en inglés" (1.0)
	and told him "Oh: If I go to Mexico nobody is going to tell me the mass in English" (1.0)
6	dice "se me hizo mami TAN RIDÍCULO!!"
	she says "it was SO RIDICULOUS mommy!!"
7	así me contestó "se me hizo tan ridículo! que el me haya contestado eso!! (.)
	she answered me in that way "it was so ridiculous! That he had answered me that!! (.)"
8	que se me hizo como si (.) una tontada, dijo
	that it was like a (.) a nonsense, she said
9	-no se no puedo explicarlo eso
	I don't know I can't explain it
10	"además estás en Estados Unidos y tienen que saber inglés" dijo
	"also you are in the U.S and you have to know English" she said
11	y "va a ser en inglés"
	and "it is going to be in English"

Lucía presents her daughter as defying similar unfair incidents that happened to her. Despite her portrayal of the priest as strongly imposing his authority on the use of language in

church, Lucía's daughter is portrayed as actively confronting this situation. Lucía reports on the "unright" of the situation in her own words animating what her daughter answered to the priest. The individual experience is presented as the experience of the collective Spanish-speaking population in the U.S. who do not speak English. In line 3, by animating her daughter's speech, Lucía shows her solidarity with the group of Mexicans, Hispanics, those who do not speak English. The ethnic categorization equals a linguistic labeling that do not correspond with the heterogeneity of the Hispanic population in the U.S., but whose effect in the story demonstrate experiences of language exclusion and discrimination that non English-speaking Hispanics suffer in the U.S. Lucía denounces an unfair linguistic situation, which in her opinion is not spoken up by many of Mexican immigrants in the same situation. As she reports on what she said to her daughter:

1 "al menos estuviste ahí para decir lo que muchos no dijeron o no dijimos porque yo no estaba tampoco ahí para decirle con la libertad con que tú se lo dijiste tú"
"At least you were there to say what many didn't say or we didn't say because I was not there either to tell him with the freedom you said that to him"

6 CONCLUSION

This paper has offered some preliminary findings of a group of Mexican immigrant women's experiences of language exclusion and invisibility in communicative encounters. Despite future expectations on the growth of the Hispanic/Latino population in the U.S, the visibility of Spanish in public domains (Hidalgo, 2001) and the creation of bilingual and bicultural programs that satisfy the linguistic and cultural needs of the Latino/Mexican community in San Diego, daily communicative encounters of Mexican immigrant women in the Southwest border region of San Diego and Tijuana does not escape the language and ethnicity judgments imposed on what it means to be Mexican in Southern California. While having the English proficiency needed to navigate mainstream institutions in the U.S was a desired goal of

my informants and one they admired in their children, narratives of daily language experiences were impregnated with the sense of 'Mexicanophobia' that operates in the context of Mexican migration in Southern California. The linguistic strategy of reported dialogues has presented some of the ways in which Mexican immigrant women challenged communicative encounters. Self-representation in reported dialogues display an agentive identity that fight for the recognition of the Spanish language and the validation of the immigration experiences Mexican women bring to the United States.

APPENDIX 1 TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

↑	rising intonation
↓	falling intonation
CAPS	louder than surrounding talk
.	at the end of words marks falling intonation
,	at the end of words marks slight rising intonation
-	abrupt cutoff, stammering quality when hyphenating syllables of a word
!	animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
> <	speech faster than normal
____	emphasis
:::	elongated sounds
• hh	inhalations
ha ha	indicates laughter
uhm uh	shows continuing listenership
° °	soft talk
(0.3)	time elapsed in tenths of seconds
(.)	micropause
[ ]	overlapping speech
(( ))	nonverbal behavior
( )	non audible segment
=	no interval between adjacent utterances

APPENDIX 2 INTERVIEW LOG

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND // INFORMACIÓN SOCIOECONÓMICA

1. Name / Nombre
2. Place of origin / Lugar de origen
3. Age/Edad
4. Schooling / Nivel de estudios
5. Work / Trabajo
6. Family: number of daughters, sons / Familia: número de hijas, hijos
7. Was your family born here in the United States? / ¿nació su familia aquí en Los Estados Unidos?
8. Number of years in the U.S. / Años en Los Estados Unidos
9. Do you speak English? / ¿Habla inglés?
10. Have you received any English instruction? / ¿Ha ido usted a clases de inglés?
11. Can you describe your neighborhood in terms of the languages spoken in the area? ¿Puede describir el barrio en el que vive en términos del idioma que se habla?

LANGUAGE SITUATION AT WORK / SITUACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN EL TRABAJO

1 Which language do you speak at work? / ¿Qué idioma habla usted en el trabajo?
2 How do you communicate with the working personnel at work? ¿Cómo se comunica usted con su jefe / compañeros en el trabajo?
3 Which language do you speak in your break? / ¿Qué idioma habla usted en su descanso?
4 Have you ever had an experience of misunderstanding or miscommunication? Ha tenido alguna experiencia de malentendidos o problemas en la comunicación?
5 ¿Cómo se sintió? ¿cómo resolvió la situación?

LANGUAGE SITUATION AT HOME / SITUACIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA EN CASA

1 Which language do you speak at home? / ¿Qué idioma habla usted en casa?
2 Which language do you use to communicate with your family? / ¿Qué idioma usa para comunicarse con su familia? ¿Qué idioma prefieren sus hijos para comunicarse?
3 Which language do you use at the dinner table? // ¿Qué idioma usa a la hora de la comida?
4 Have you ever had an experience of miscommunication at home? ¿Ha tenido algún problema de comunicación en casa?

LANGUAGE IN SOCIAL LIFE / EL IDIOMA EN SU VIDA SOCIAL

1 What kind of social activities are you involved in? Which language do you use to communicate? / ¿En qué tipo de actividades está usted metida? / ¿Qué idioma usa usted para comunicarse?
2 Which language do you speak with your neighbors and friends? / ¿Qué idioma usa usted con sus amigos y vecinos?

3 Which language do you speak in your free time? // ¿Qué idioma habla en su tiempo libre?
4 Any situation of misunderstanding or miscommunication? // ¿alguna situación problemática de comunicación o malentendidos?

EVERYDAY LIFE COMMUNICATION

1 How would you describe your everyday life experience of communication? / ¿Cómo describiría su experiencia diaria de comunicación?
2 Can you recall any experience of problematic communication? Where? When? What happened? // ¿Puede recordar alguna experiencia de comunicación problemática? ¿Dónde? ¿Cuándo? ¿Qué pasó?
3 Where do you find it more difficult communicating with? // ¿En dónde encuentra mayores problemas de comunicación?
4 Who do you find more difficult communicating with? // ¿Con quién se le hace más difícil la comunicación?
5 Can you describe any situation in which communication was difficult for you? What did you do? Who helped you? // ¿Puede hablarme de alguna ocasión en la que la comunicación fue difícil? ¿Qué hizó? ¿Quién le ayudó?

COMMUNICATING WITH U.S-BORN LATINOS

1 What is your experience communicating with other Latinos? Which language do they speak t to you when you address them? // ¿Qué experiencia de comunicación tiene con otros Latinos? ¿Qué idioma hablan cuando usted se dirige a ellos?

2 Have you ever had a problematic experience of communication with other Latinos who know Spanish and pretend not to? / ¿Ha tenido usted alguna mala experiencia de comunicación con otros Latinos que hablan español y pretende que no lo hablan?

APPENDIX 3: NARRATIVE SAMPLES

SETTING (location of the story); UNEXPECTED EVENT (problematic incident); COMPLICATING ACTION (how the incident evolved); ATTEMPT (to resolve the problematic unexpected event); PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE (change in person's thoughts, emotions provoked by unexpected event); CONSEQUENCE (repercussion of unexpected event)

Example1: HOSPITAL

SETTING

9 Una persona que es de la misma comunidad de la que yo vengo (.) de un pueblo,
A person who is from the same community I come from (.) a village

10 se enfermó,
he got sick

11 llegó al hospital
he got to hospital

UNEXPECTED EVENT: Lack of English proficiency

12 **y esta persona no sabe inglés nada**
and this person does not know a word of English

13 y entonces lógicamente que uno se siente incómodo de estar todo el tiempo de una sola posición sin moverse
and then it is obvious that one feels uncomfortable to be all the time in the same position and not being able to move

14 y más si no puede hablar inglés
and even more if you cannot speak English

15 y como decirles cambíame, ayúdame o falta algo o bueno
and how to tell them change me, help me or there's something lacking or well

16 y las camas deben de tener algún botón para que si hay alguna emergencia que salga (.) no sé como se llama pero que salga la persona a cargo.
And beds should have some ring in case of an emergency=so that [the person] can come (.) I don't know how you call it so that the person in charge comes

COMPLICATING ACTION

17 Esta persona no le hacían caso
This person they didn't pay attention to her

18 estaba ella sola y su esposo
she was all alone and her husband

19 y quería ir al baño
and she wanted to go to the bathroom

20 y no la llevaban o yo no se ni como estuvo eso
and they didn't take her or I don't even know how it was

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

21 o sea A MI ME DIO CORAJE!!!
I mean I GOT MAD!!

22 Okey esta bien que estemos mal vestidos o que no tengamos (.4) pero son personas y se va a pagar,
Okey it's okey that we are badly dressed or that we don't have (.4) but they are persons and it's gonna be paid

23 de alguna forma van a pagar verdad y se sabe

somehow they are gonna pay right and we know it

24 y voy y me dirijo con alguna de las enfermeras
and I go and talk to one of the nurses

ATTEMPT: facing the nurse

25 y le digo "esta persona no tiene cuidados" **((raising her finger at me))**
26 **and I tell her "this person has no care" ((raising her finger at me))**
27 **y le digo "NO TIENE" le digo**
and I tell her "SHE DOES NOT" I tell her
28 ya tenía como dos o tres días que no tenía la ayuda
she already had like two or three days in which she didn't have any help
29 y no se la habían dado
and they hadn't given it to her
30 y entonces en ese momento ví como pues solamente hablar y decir algo en inglés vienen y ayudan y que si hablas en español, no te ayudan
and then at that moment I saw how only if you speak and say something in English they come and help and and that if you don't speak Spanish you don't get any help
31 **AY::!! ME DIO CORAJE!!** Me dio tristeza por la señora
Ay::!! I GOT SO MAD!! I felt bad for the lady
32 y en ese momento me sentí satisfecha por haberla ayudado porque le cambiaron la cama
and at that moment I felt satisfied because I had been able to help her because they changed her bed
33 M: y usted habló con la enfermera en ...?
M: and you spoke with the nurse in ...?
34 M: yo hablé con la enfermera y en inglés sí
M: I spoke with the nurse and yes in English
35 y les dije que necesitaba ayuda porque no sabía como se llamaba el botón
and I told her that I needed help because I didn't know the name of the ring
36 pero traté de darme a entender y explicar lo que quería decir
but I tried to make myself understood and explained what I wanted to say

Example 2: HOSPITAL

SETTING

14 la semana pasada operaron a mi esposo
last week my husband had surgery
15 y es una americana la doctora
and the doctor was an American

UNEXPECTED EVENT

16 y (.) ELLA NUNCA SALIÓ A DECIR TERMINE LA OPERACIÓN NI NADA
and (.) SHE NEVER CAME OUT TO LET ME KNOW THAT SHE HAD FINISHED OR ANYTHING

COMPLICATING ACTION

17 Agarró y se fue a operar a otra persona
She just went to operate another person

ATTEMPT

18 Entonces yo voy y le digo a la recepcionista: "que pasa?"
Then I go and tell the receptionist "what's going on?"

19 "la doctora no salio a hablar contigo?"
"the doctor did not come out to talk to you?"

20 digo "no"'
I say 'no"

21 "OH!! Eso es que a lo mejor pensó que no le entendías"
"OH! That's because she maybe thought you didn't understand her

22 M: OH:!
OH::!!

23 Mi: así me dijó
Mi: like that she told me that

AGENCY (use of pronoun 'I' which indexes involvement in the action)

24 entonces volteé
then I turned around

25 y le dije "a ella no le importa si yo entendi=ella tiene que acabar un trabajo para agarrar otro" le digo
and I told her "it doesn't matter to her whether I understood=she has to finish a job to be able to do another" I told her

26 yo ya he hablado con ella muchas veces
I have already talked to her in several occasions

27 y ella sabe que yo le puedo hablar
and she knows that I can speak to her

28 y le entiendo"
and I understand her"

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

29 entonces ya nomás la recepcionista se quedó ((hace gesto de asombrada))
and then the receptionist just went ((being amazed))

30 Y nunca salió la doctora
And the doctor never came out

31 no salió nunca
and she never came out

32 y la enfermera "que pasó? No hablo con usted la doctora?"
and the nurse "what happened? Didn't the doctor talk to you?"

33 digo "no" ((asombrada))
I say 'no" ((surprised))

SOLIDARITY

34 dijo "eso esta muy mal porque ella tiene que salir=si le entienden o no=ella tiene que salir a decirte lo que pasa"
she said "that's really bad because she has to come out-whether she understands or not=she has to let you know what's going on"

35 No me dijo que le hizo ni nada
She didn't tell me what she did or anything

36 entonces tuve que salir a investigar con las enfermeras

37 then I had to go and investigate with the nurses

CONSEQUENCE (repercussion of unexpected event)

38 Mi: y en ese momento me dio coraje!
And at that moment I got angry!

39 porque no podia ir a pelear con ella
because I couldn't go and fight with her

40 porque podía decir lo básico pero no todo para para quitarme el coraje
because I could say the basic but not everything to be able to release my anger

Example 3 : CHURCH

SETTING

1 L: ALGO que te voy a comentar ahorita que estas diciendo (.)
L: SOMETHING I am going to tell you now that you are saying (.)
2 ahorita que estas diciendo como me identifico
now that you are saying how I identify myself
3 como Hispana
as Hispanic
4 ahora en cuaresma= en la comunidad (.2)
now at Lent=in the community (.2)
5 en mi comunidad surgió algo que
in my community something happened that
6 en cuaresma (.) que ya ves (.) que ya sabes que hay una celebración especial Jueves, Viernes y sábado para recordar ese tiempo especial en la iglesia
at Lent (.) you see (.) you know that there is a special celebration Thursday, Friday and Saturday to remember that special time in church

UNEXPECTED EVENT

7 y ME DI CUENTA que todo lo que estaba pasando allí era PURO INGLÉS
and I REALIZED that everything that was happening over there was in ENGLISH ONLY

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

8 y no llegué a la mitad porque me SALÍ BIEN=HA HA HA HA
and I did not even get to half of it because I LEFT REALLY= HA HA HA HA
9 me salí BIEN ENOJADA porque sentí que era un insulto para la raza y así como que tú no eres importante
I left REALLY MAD because I felt that it was an insult for the race and like to say that you are not important

Example 4: DAUGHTER

SETTING
12 ya que llegué la miré con los ojos colorados ha ha ha
and when I got there I saw her eyes really red ha ha ha

ATTEMPT
13 y le dije "que paso?"
and I told her "what's wrong?"

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE
14 dijo "estaba TAN ENOJADA!! estaba llorando porque sabes qué?
She said "I was SO MAD!!" I was crying because you know what?

NEW EVENT: SETTING
15 "Cuando íbamos llegando a la iglesia –dijo- estaba el señor cura
when we were approaching church –she said- there it was Mr. Priest
16 pues el anglosajón,
I mean the anglo
17 el que es el señor cura recibiendo a la gente
the one who is Mr. Priest welcoming people

UNEXPECTED EVENT
18 y diciéndole "NO SPANISH=NO SPANISH, la misa no iba a ser en español
and saying "NO SPANISH=NO SPANISH

19 solo=only English
only=only English

20 porque iba a ser una celebración especial
because it was going to be a special celebration

21 de de que bautizan a todos los que van a entrar a la iglesia y todo eso
one of those baptism [celebrations] they baptized all the church newcomers

ATTEMPT

22 y fue y les preguntó a los del coro "esta celebración va a ser en inglés o en español?"
and she went and asked the choir "is this celebration gonna be in English or Spanish?"

23 "no va a ser solo en inglés"
"no it is going to be in English only"

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

24 dice Susana que se quedó (...)
Susana said that she was (...)

ATTEMPT

25 dijo "esto es (.) unright"
she said "this is (.) unright"

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

26 pues se quedaron así nomás mirándola
and well they were like just looking at her

ATTEMPT 1

27 "COMO QUE NO ES EN ESPAÑOL?"
"HOW IS IT THAT IT IS NOT IN SPANISH?"

28 y no le contestaron a ella
and they didn't answer to her

29 se le quedaron así mirando como sorprendidos de que ella le haya dicho eso
they were like that looking at her like surprised [because] she had said that

ATTEMPT 2

30 y dice 'yo me quede asi con un coraje que ha ha ha fui a buscar al señor cura
and he says "I was like with all this anger that ha ha ha I went to look for the priest

31 y le dije "por que estas haciendo la misa solamente ingles?
And I told him "why are you having mass in English only?"

32 Los mejicanos, los hispanos, los que no hablan ingles, QUE?"
What about Mexicans, Hispanics those who do not speak English, WHAT ABOUT THEM?

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

33 y dice que se le volteó
and she said that he turned around and said

UNEXPECTED EVENT

34 y le dijo "oh! Si yo voy a Mexico a mi nadie me va a decir la misa en ingles" (1.0)
and told her "Oh! If I go to Mexico nobody is going to tell me the mass in English" (1.0)

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

35 dice "se me hizo mami tan ridículo!!"
she says "it was so ridiculous mommy!!"

36 asi me contesto "se me hizo tan ridiculo! que el me haya contestado eso!! (.)
she answered me in that way "it was so ridiculous! That she had answered me that!! (.)"

37 que se me hizó como si (.) una tontada, dijo
that it was like as if (.) a nosense, she said

38 -no sé no puedo explicarlo eso
I don't know I can't explain it

UNEXPECTED EVENT

39 "además estás en Estados Unidos y tienen que saber inglés" dijo
"also you are in the U.S and you have to know English" she said

40 y "va a ser en inglés"
and "it is going to be in English"

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESPONSE

41 y dijo Susana que se volteó
and Susana said that she turned around

42 y le dijo "pues esto es incorrecto" Susana le dijo
and said "well this is incorrect" Susana said

43 "esto es unright"
'this is unright"

44 L: "this is unright" dijo "lo que estás haciendo"
L: "this is unright" she said "what you are doing"

CONSEQUENCE

45 L: entonces el se regresó y yo me regresé TAN ENOJADA
Then he left and I left SO ANGRY

46 y dice que estaba reflexionando en el carro
and she says that she was reflecting in the car

47 y que dijo "si estamos hechos a imagen y semejanza de Dios y tú eres un padre que eres parejo con todos
and she said "if we are made to God's image and resemblance and you are a priest who is equal with everybody

48 esto no es ser cristianos
this is not to be Christians

49 esto no es ser tu imagen y semejanza
this is not to be made to your image and resemblance

50 esto no es amar a otras razas,
this is not to love other races

51 nos estan haciendo menos
you are treating us as less equal

52 nos estan haciendo menos a los que no hablan ingles"
you are treating us less to those who do not speak English"

53 y estaba enojada
and she was so angry

54 y estaba llorando
and she was crying

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